831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
153 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
839 (*vale tvu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata mahaka*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata mako wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *sio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wia sio*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i toua wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau tiotio* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *ua wia* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakawawine* (be like a woman):

[521 161] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*uale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*uakaiwye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*uale ataa*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *uakaunga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for banked-up emotions.

As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*uatonga*) of mats, maka, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[33] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of nuts or talo, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[33] A literal translation. The Pukapukan greeting in both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on repeated inhalation.

village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him. She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lina runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lina slips away from her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy and takes a long time to calm down again. Lina, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lina to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lina waited until his lavalava before crying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be interpreted in terms of a deep-seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren. (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affections to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unsettling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He unrolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the coarse bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the nose for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mats" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hide to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the lost and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing round pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

844 521 831 154 887 way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults, whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

As a group of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-outrigger canoe goes past. When asked who is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:0) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played above." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Olani (5:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Olani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the verse from one of the hymns she learns in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the bush beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Olani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

839 857 864 Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (1:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This con- 839 cerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practices of the de-

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935)1941 Pukapukans

839 asserted husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men.
864 No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.

858 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be
561 added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[6]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [6] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135–43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan
582 culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousins-in-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 259–63). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generation several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes great disapproval among the old.

[7] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., 1938).

192 826 Names for the teeth are the same for upper and lower jaws:

wisdom tooth	ngao tautawa
first molar	te lua o te ngao
second molar	te ngao o te lolotonu
bicuspid	te ngao 'openga
canine	te ngao nio
incisor	te nio
two front upper incisors	te nio pala ta
upper set of teeth	atu ngao ki lunga
lower set of teeth	atu ngao ki lalo
milk teeth	te ngao tamaliki

192 833 III. Miscellaneous sexual terms:

839 sexual excitement	waka mitamitz
cunilingualism	kai tole
fellatio	kai ule
berdache	wakawawine (descriptive)
buggery	tokotoko
masturbation	mulimuli ..... to rub organs is milimili

192 513 IV. Types of sleep:

itching or scratching sleep	moe kinikini
bad sleep or nightmare	moe kino
restless sleep (as of a pregnant woman)	moe kinokino
to sleep on the side with legs folded over each other	moe kokopi
to sleep curled up	moe wakakukukuka
good deep sleep	moe loka
day-dreaming	moe maraatu
to sleep with one eye open	moe mata tai
to sleep anxiously dreaming of the morrow	moe wakamiki
to sleep sitting up	moe no
to sleep close to another person	moe wakapipiki
to sleep hugging another person	moe pukupuku